291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [881] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the [171] haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuín or [283] chikoangkohâua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside
[834] her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
372 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with
171 them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night
[514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive: yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *panlé*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophites fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke: during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions. During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming: he also refrains from bathing and so becomes grimey. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Panteri reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are concerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal of corn which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women run after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter.

(32) "Seules la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays purement fabuleux" (*in* Alfred Métraux. 1931. "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *in Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*. T. II, p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927. "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" *in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. Nouvelle Série, T. XIX.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is